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14. ABSTRACT

There has been a significant focus in recent years on the idea of conflict termination. The context of 21st century warfare, however, requires a new conceptual framework and the replacement of outdated and inaccurate terminology. Instead of continuing to consider conflict termination in planning, adopting the concept of *Conflict Transformation* as a primary element in operational design will more effectively combine the relevant aspects of termination with the emerging concept of Security, Stability, Transition, and Reconstruction (SSTR) Operations. Ongoing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan reflect a transformational approach to conflict that must be codified. As SSTR operations become increasingly critical to operational success, conflict transformation offers a better framework to link current doctrine with this emerging concept. This will more precisely reflect what is operationally possible and more accurately denote what is operationally intended. By combining the relevant elements of termination with the emerging SSTR concept into the operational design framework offered by conflict transformation, operational planning can be more effectively focused.

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<u>**Conflict Termination or Conflict Transformation?**</u>
<u>**Rethinking the Operational Planning Paradigm**</u>

by

Patrick N. Kelleher

Lieutenant Colonel, USMC

A paper submitted to the Faculty of the Naval War College in partial satisfaction of the requirements of the Department of Joint Military Operations.

The contents of this paper reflect my own personal views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Naval War College or the Department of the Navy.

Signature:_____

31 October 2008

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Abstract

There has been a significant focus in recent years on the idea of conflict termination. The context of 21st century warfare, however, requires a new conceptual framework and the replacement of outdated and inaccurate terminology. Instead of continuing to consider conflict termination in planning, adopting the concept of *Conflict Transformation* as a primary element in operational design will more effectively combine the relevant aspects of termination with the emerging concept of Security, Stability, Transition, and Reconstruction (SSTR) Operations. Ongoing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan reflect a transformational approach to conflict that must be codified. As SSTR operations become increasingly critical to operational success, conflict transformation offers a better framework to link current doctrine with this emerging concept. This will more precisely reflect what is operationally possible and more accurately denote what is operationally intended. By combining the relevant elements of termination with the emerging SSTR concept into the operational design framework offered by conflict transformation, operational planning can be more effectively focused.

INTRODUCTION

The realities of 21ˢᵗ century conflict necessitate the adoption of a new planning paradigm. The idea of conflict termination reflects a model better suited for a bipolar world or a time when "unconditional surrender" constituted a realistic end-state. Yet Joint Publication 5-0 identifies termination as one of the keys to achieving the national strategic end state in a military operation.[1] In addition, limiting the planning paradigm to conflict termination does not sufficiently capture the necessity for addressing the emerging doctrinal concept of Stability, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction (SSTR) throughout the spectrum of planning. Simply put, conflict termination does not reflect what is operationally possible and does not denote what is operationally intended. This potentially results in a mismatch between ends, ways and means with detrimental operational ramifications.

To avoid this requires a new concept better suited for planning the type of conflict in which U.S. forces will likely be engaged. The involvement of U.S. forces in a hybrid war, for example, will not likely result in a situation where winners and losers will be easily recognizable.[2] Therefore, the framework of conflict termination should be discarded and replaced with the concept of *conflict transformation*. Conflict transformation provides the foundational process to link the relevant elements of termination with the requirements of SSTR within a single conceptual element. What will result is a better roadmap for the operational planner to structure the successful conclusion of "operations on terms favorable to the United States."[3] The current doctrinal focus on establishing the conditions necessary to enable civil authority does so within the context of generating the leverage necessary for the achievement of sustainable results favorable to the interests of the United States. Conflict transformation provides the method explicitly oriented towards creating these conditions in an environment

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containing lingering conflict but where the use of U.S. military force is no longer desired or required.

Indeed, the efforts underway in both Afghanistan and Iraq represent attempts at conflict transformation without overtly labeling them as such. Senior leadership over the past several years has infused a transformational perspective into operational practices that simply reflects the operational necessities for achieving strategic aims.[4] Doctrinal foundations must reflect operational realities in order to establish the conditions necessary for the achievement of U.S. military objectives.

This paper begins with a definition of relevant terms in order to establish the baseline from which the discussion of conflict transformation will evolve. The second section will outline the axiomatic truths common to what is currently labeled as conflict termination and SSTR in order to demonstrate the underlying commonalities and inextricable linkage of these two ideas within the process of campaign design. The third section will outline the concept of conflict transformation itself and provide a planning focal area to maximize transformative effects and thereby enable the successful achievement of transition to civilian control. Lastly, the paper will address the implications for the operational planner and provide several practical recommendations to enhance planning success within the context of conflict transformation.

TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Before exploring in more detail what the process of conflict transformation entails, a common understanding of four specific terms is necessary. Between doctrine and scholarly works, a range of definitions for conflict termination, conflict resolution and war termination exists. Defining what is meant by conflict transformation poses fewer challenges.

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Most authors define conflict termination as either the formal end of military hostilities or as the cessation of major combat operations.[5] Joint Publication 5-0 defines "termination" as "the conditions that must exist to end military operations."[6] These definitions highlight the limitation of this terminology because they are used primarily in reference to the level or amount of U.S. military involvement. This denies the operational realities facing planners by failing to capture the totality of a given conflict. The persistent nature of violent conflict in general is such that it will likely persist long after U.S. military forces have ended kinetic operations; very little will have "terminated" beyond the involvement of U.S. forces.

Conflict resolution is most frequently understood as the process to identify and settle disputes with some degree of finality.[7] Other authors offer that conflict resolution, "is a long process" that is "primarily a civilian problem that may require military support."[8] Suffice it to say, the military should never be involved in anything approaching conflict resolution. The primary end-state of military operations involves the ability to "enable civil authority," not to resolve conflict.[9] Indeed, the underlying complexities and the nearly intractable nature of 21st century conflict-whether ethnic, cultural, religious or territorial-do not lend themselves to termination or resolution by military force alone.

The third term frequently invoked during discussions of conflict termination in general is "war termination." Although this term is not directly relevant to the following discussion of conflict transformation, establishing the definition is necessary if only to demonstrate that it encompasses issues beyond the scope of this paper. Echols offers a comprehensive discussion and concludes that war termination is best described as the umbrella of activities, which includes conflict termination and conflict resolution, required to transition from combat operations back to steady-state operations.[10] Fondaw concurs that war termination is better defined as a process

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and not an event.[11] As he points out, however, a definitive discussion of termination was

perhaps better suited to the era of unlimited war and the possibility of unconditional surrender.[12]

Conflict transformation, on the other hand, is defined by Miall as "the process of

engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourses and, if necessary, the very

constitution of society" in an effort to reduce or eliminate the causes of, and need for, violent

conflict.[13] This more accurately reflects the practical necessities underlying successful military

operations and provides a better fit within the context of existing and emerging doctrine. The

U.S. operational framework envisions the successful conclusion of operations involving the

facilitation or reinstitution of control by civilian authorities. This necessitates a fundamental

change in the manifestation of the conflict such that the use of coercive U.S military force is no

longer required. It is not intended to reflect the absence of violence or that military force is no

longer required. It implies, rather, that the conflict has become manageable by the domestic

institutions (political, law-enforcement, etc.) enabled or created by the U.S. military within the

context of conditions favorable to the long-term interests of the United States.

THE CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION FLAVOR OF JOINT DOCTRINE

In several places, Joint Doctrine hints at the transformative nature of military operations

but falls short of fully embracing the idea to the degree required to enhance operational planning.

JP 3-0 states that the "indirect approach best lends itself to termination of warfare" and by

highlighting that an understanding of the "underlying causes of a particular conflict – cultural,

religious, territorial, resources, or hegemonic- should influence the conditions necessary…" to

end military activity. [14] Further, JP 3-0 recognizes that "passing the lead from the military to

other authorities usually requires extensive planning and preparation prior to the onset of

operations" which is indicative of transformative requirements.[15] The related idea of

disengaging military force once conditions of "leverage sufficient to impose a lasting solution" have been achieved further highlights the relevance of transformation within an operational context.[16] JP 5-0, although including the idea of how to "preserve achieved advantage" as part of a discussion of termination, actually presents ideas that are arguably more closely connected to transformation than termination.[17] Indeed, the confusing rhetorical usage of conflict termination is best captured in JP 5-0, which states that, "The supported Joint Force Commander (JFC) and staff should view conflict termination not just as the end of hostilities, but as the transition to a new post-hostilities period."[18] More recently, the "central idea" offered in the *Military Support to SSTR Operations Joint Operating Concept* (hereafter referred to as the *SSTR JOC*) requires nothing less than assisting in the establishment of a "'new domestic order' within a country following internal collapse or defeat in war."[19] In summary, all of these ideas reflect an orientation towards *transformation* incorrectly contained within the doctrinal framework of *termination*.

This highlights the inapplicability of the term "conflict termination." The end of major combat operations, which serves as the current standard definition for conflict termination, heralds neither the end of the conflict nor the end of fighting. The term should simply be discarded and replaced with the more precise "End of Major Combat Operations" (EMCO). EMCO clarifies the magnitude of military operations while acknowledging that combat may be ongoing, as doctrine and concepts recognize, to achieve the conditions necessary to transition to control by local civilian authorities. Implicit within the achievement of an environment to enable local civilian control is the establishment of conditions of maximum leverage for the furtherance of U.S. objectives. Using EMCO clarifies the conditions within which the continued pursuit of objectives will be accomplished.

THE LINKAGE BETWEEN SSTR AND THE END OF MAJOR COMBAT

For the operational planner, to whom usually falls the burden of determining the criteria for when and how major combat operations should end, the challenge is to apply a holistic view of all the elements of a conflict and balance them effectively.[20] The operational framework of termination, as we have seen, is insufficient. The concept of conflict transformation, on the other hand provides the opportunity to link the EMCO and SSTR within a single conceptual framework and thereby formalize the natural and necessary planning linkages between them to enable a comprehensive approach. For the operational planner attempting to identify the ways to maximize U.S. leverage, EMCO provides a top-down approach and SSTR offers a bottom-up perspective. The challenge for the planner is to successfully link them at the operational level. Fortunately, the underlying planning imperatives for both EMCO and SSTR are nearly identical; hence the advantage of linking them within the same operational design element. In this way, pursuing conflict transformation enhances campaign design, contributes to successful campaign execution, and ultimately provides a pathway to the successful establishment of civilian control. The following axioms, common to both SSTR and EMCO are derived from multiple sources, including joint doctrine, research papers, monographs, and the author's experience. These demonstrate the natural, implicit connection between EMCO and SSTR that exists within operational design but which has not been overtly established in doctrine.

1. *Establish and maintain legitimacy*. Major combat operations (MCO) must be pursued within the legal and moral paradigm of proportionality and discrimination in order to lay the foundation for a successful transition from the EMCO to subsequent operations. Proportionality and discrimination are equally vital to successful SSTR operations. As the *SSTR JOC* highlights

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"the most critical determinant of success will be convincing the local populace to recognize the legitimacy of the existing or new government"[21]

2. *Plan continuously throughout the operation*. JP 5-0 states that planning for the end of major combat operations is a "key aspect of planning."[22] It is virtually undeniable that planning for the end of combat operations must be concurrent with planning for the actual conduct of operations. Several academic papers have recently espoused various recommendations for institutionalizing a capacity to conduct the necessary post-MCO/SSTR planning throughout the operation. These ideas include adding a Deputy Director for SSTR to the combatant commander's staff, creating/enhancing an SSTR directorate within the operational staff, or creating planning cells of different magnitudes to conduct termination planning.[23] Regardless of the methodology employed, the necessity for early and concurrent planning is well recognized.

3. *Understand the end state at all levels*. The necessity to define the conditions that specifically signal the attainment of objectives that shall identify the EMCO and to understand at the beginning whether the settlement will be imposed, negotiated or achieved by an indirect method is critical to operational success.[24] Success in both MCO and SSTR is necessary to achieve operational and strategic objectives.[25]

4. *Interagency planning is required to support unity of effort*. The applicability of this truism to all phases of operational planning and execution is well established and becoming increasingly prevalent in doctrinal publications. JP 3-08 Volume 1 highlights that "there is a clear requirement for continuous integrated interagency, intergovernmental (IGO), and NGO planning and training in order to synchronize" all elements of a U.S. response.[26] The *SSTR JOC* similarly recognizes that "The actions of the military alone are insufficient to achieve success in SSTR operations."[27]

5. *Establish sustainable peace by transitioning to civilian control*. Both the JOC and Joint Doctrine emphasize the need to establish the conditions for a sustainable peace. JP 5-0 highlights the necessity for concluding MCO at the right time and under the right circumstances to achieve necessary leverage to impose a lasting solution.[28] The *SSTR JOC* echoes this emphasis by referring to the necessity for SSTR to "win the peace" and to ensure the successful establishment of a "new domestic order and viable peace."[29] Indeed, the entire joint operational framework reflects the final result of a military operation within Phase V as the enablement of civil authorities.

6. *Apply a thorough cultural filter to all aspects of planning*. This idea follows logically from legitimacy and the desire to establish a sustainable peace. One of the fundamental principles of "peace operations" as defined by JP 3-07.3 is to maintain "mutual respect and cultural awareness."[30] The *SSTR JOC* cautions that "Recognizing and understanding the ethnic dimension of an environment will remain critical."[31] As recent experiences in both Iraq and Afghanistan have dramatically demonstrated, a detailed cultural understanding of the battle space is required to successfully conclude major combat operations and to conduct SSTR.

THE CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION PARADIGM DEFINED

Having established the applicability of this new paradigm by demonstrating the connection between existing doctrine and emerging concepts, a more detailed discussion of the conflict transformation concept will provide the necessary framework for actual utilization within the process of operational design. As noted earlier, conflict transformation can be viewed as the process that changes the manifestation of conflict such that the use of coercive U.S. military force is no longer necessary. Essentially, this involves transforming the way conflict is expressed.[32] Because conflict transformation entails a process it is necessary to define transition

points that mark progress along what can be described as the Conflict Transformation

Continuum. (Graphically depicted in Figure 1) The transformational process, though planned

for at the outset of combat operations, begins with the EMCO. For clarity, the EMCO can be

defined as the point in time when the focus of combat operations transitions from Corps and

Division level to Brigade Combat Team/Regimental Combat Team, battalion and company level

operations, and the point at which SSTR becomes the focus of effort. The operational plan

phasing model provides the transformational objective by establishing the transition to civilian

control (Phase V: Enable Civilian Authorities) as a focal point for the end of military operations.

With this as the transformational objective, there can be two intermediate transition points

identified along the transformational continuum. First, because the EMCO does not necessarily

imply the cessation of *all* combat operations and both the *SSTR JOC* and current doctrine

recognize that some level of military force may still be required, designating post-EMCO

operations as Transitional Combat Operations (TCO) accurately reflects this reality. TCO

explicitly highlights the eventuality that force will likely be required after the EMCO and

recognizes the transitory nature of these operations. Transitional Combat Operations (TCO) can

include Counter-Insurgency Operations (COIN) or any of the range of requirements contained

within SSTR including the development of legitimate civilian authorities, training host nation

police and/or military as well as contributing to the establishment of law and order. As the

security situation improves and the need for high-intensity kinetic operations declines,

Transitional Combat Operations evolves into Transitional Security and Law Enforcement

Operations (TSLEO). This stage envisions a decreasing requirement for the involvement of U.S

military forces coupled with declining levels of violence concurrent with growing capacity of the

local institutions and organizations. TSLEO also reflects an increasing law enforcement

orientation for combat forces who continue to build capacity within local government. The transformational process concludes when the conditions necessary for civilian control (Enable Civil Authorities or ECA) exist within an environment that no longer requires overt U.S. military action. In other words, the "new domestic order" identified in the *SSTR JOC* as the primary operational focus is successfully managing the day-to-day affairs of the country.[33] This does not imply the complete absence of violence but rather the management of violence within acceptable parameters by local authorities.

The practical application of concrete action to drive progress along the transformation continuum necessitates an operational framework to assist planners in developing the quantifiable actions that result in conflict transformation. Conflict Transformation Theory provides the fundamental dimensions of transformation that can be used to guide actions throughout the transformation continuum. The theory specifically identifies that "changes in the personal, structural, relational, and cultural aspects of a conflict . . . over different time periods and affecting different system levels at different times" achieves a transformational effect.[34] In other words, developing an approach that pursues transformation simultaneously along the axes of Context, Structure, Actors, and Issues provides a framework for planning.[35] By viewing these dynamics as Lines of Operations (LOO), the operational planner can directly link the process of conflict transformation to the conceptual outline offered by the *SSTR JOC* Major Mission Elements (MMEs).[36] The conflict transformation LOOs can function to provide direct inputs to the SSTR MMEs to provide the necessary context required for detailed operational planning. Figure 2 provides a graphical depiction of the Conflict Transformation Process occurring within the overall context of strategic communication and enhanced by the fulfillment of basic needs. The importance of basic needs fulfillment will be addressed in more detail later.

In order to capitalize on the conflict transformation LOOs, however, a more in depth understanding of each is necessary. First, *Context Transformation* involves changes within the society in conflict as well as changes in the wider regional area.[37] This requires a dramatic alteration of each party's perception of the conflict as well as their motives.[38] A comprehensive understanding of the cultural aspects of society including social norms, institutional arrangements and character, the existence of and relationships between and among different ethnicities is also required.[39] In addition, identifying relationships, group memories and dynamics within space and time are equally critical to a thorough cultural understanding. The cultural context of Iraq, the relations between Sunni and Shi'a, their differing historical memories and divergent cultural artifacts provides a current relevant example of the complexities involved in Context Transformation.

Structural Transformation "refers to changes in the basic structure of the conflict."[40] A primary causal factor in most conflicts involves the disproportionate allocation of power within a society and among the institutions that perpetuate the power inequality.[41] Additionally, there may be intrinsic structural obstacles within the society that overtly impede transformational efforts. Jim Crow laws in the United States or Apartheid in South Africa are just two examples of structural impediments to transformation. More recently, the power sharing arrangement agreed to in Iraq between the previous ruling class, the Sunni minority, and the formally oppressed Shi'a majority, represents a significant structural transformation within the country of Iraq.

The third Line of Operation guiding the conflict transformation process is called *Actor Transformation*.[42] This includes not only the obvious process of leadership changes through overt and direct means (by killing or capturing key insurgent leaders or criminal organizers, for

example) but also leadership change as a by-product of institutional change through elections. Actor Transformation represents the process by which key actors "change their goals or alter their general approach to conflict."[43] Lastly, actor changes can include modifications to political party platforms and or membership constituents. General Petraeus's oft-made distinction involving separating the "reconcilables" from the "irreconcilables" provides an example of an overt actor transformation effort.

   Issue Transformation represents the fourth conflict transformation Line of Operation and requires the "reformulation of positions that parties take on key issues."[44] By demonstrating flexibility on the issues that rest at the heart of the conflict, the various parties to a conflict can begin to establish the groundwork necessary for compromise or perhaps even resolution. Issue Transformation poses the most difficult challenges and likely involves the longest time frame as progress is frequently painfully slow and extremely fragile. The recent economic bailout bill passed by the U.S. Congress represents a comparatively shallow, but valid, example of the process involved in Issue Transformation. The failure of the first bill to pass as was initially expected demonstrates, even in a stable democratic country such as ours, the fragility of issue transformational compromise.

ACHIEVING TRANSFORMATIVE EFFECTS: TOOLS FOR THE OPERATIONAL PLANNER

   Too often military operations result in the establishment and achievement of an end state without the corollary development of the necessary foundational underpinnings to ensure lasting results. This tendency reflects human nature and the propensity to push toward solutions and outcomes without due consideration for the establishment of a clear and definitive process necessary for the achievement of *sustainable* results.[45] In comparing the conflict

transformational framework with the conceptual underpinnings of SSTR and with other available thinking regarding the requirements necessary to enable the establishment of a "new domestic order," two key and inseparable factors emerge: the necessity to fulfill basic human needs and the requirement to orient on local level change. Conflict transformation is most effectively enabled by designing an operation that is predicated on a local level orientation and focused on fulfilling basic needs. From a planner's perspective, effective operational design must incorporate practical mechanisms that reflect this focus and orientation in order to successfully enable the transformation of a conflict into a situation no longer necessitating the use of U.S. military force. In addition, a focus on basic needs fulfillment enables the adoption of standards that are more readily recognizable by civilian organizations and enhances the overall legitimacy of the operation.

The imperative to fulfill basic human needs correlates directly with the ability to maintain legitimacy and to develop the leverage necessary to conduct transformational change. Simply put, the absence of basic needs fulfillment feeds (so to speak) protracted conflict.[46] Therefore, satisfying basic needs removes the single largest contributor to friction and directly enhances the transformational process by enabling change within the Context, Actor, and Issue Transformational Lines of Operation. Although the *SSTR JOC* provides some doctrinal underpinnings regarding the necessity for basic needs fulfillment by recommending Essential Services and Humanitarian Assistance as MME's, this methodology is insufficient because it does not produce a focus on the practical necessities associated with the fulfillment of basic needs. Further, it drives an operational context familiar only to military planners. A better guide for measuring the provision and fulfillment of basic needs can be found within the commonly recognized humanitarian relief sectors. The widely accepted sectors are Water and Sanitation,

Food Security and Food Aid, Nutrition, Shelter and Non-Food Items, and Health Services.[47] The source document for these sectors, *The SPHERE Handbook*, highlights methodologies within each sector for assessing needs, common indicators of deficiencies, recommendations for targeting mechanisms and criteria, and proven techniques for monitoring the success of a basic needs effort.[48] Therefore, instead of the rather broad concepts outlined in the *SSTR JOC*, a more effective planning effort results from grouping Essential Services and Humanitarian Assistance MMEs together within a Basic Needs LOO. This grouping, combined with an application of the SPHERE standards in planning provides the operational level planner with a practical tool for assessing the environment to enable a prioritized focus. The adoption of this methodology also aligns the provision of basic needs with internationally recognized standards accepted by partner organizations and NGOs and thereby enhances the legitimacy of the effort. Additionally, the use of common practices recognized by such organizations as the International Committee of the Red Cross/Red Crescent contributes to an enhanced ability to transition the operation to civilian authorities by establishing an operational context familiar to all parties involved.

Constructing an operation that is predicated on a local level orientation is the second practical step to enhance the ability to effect transformational change within the Lines of Operation. It provides the most effective means of shaping long-term stability.[49] While the necessity for a local level focus is not a new idea, the absence of practical tools to guide the operational planner, beyond generic admonitions identifying the necessity for a bottom-up approach, inhibits this ability.[50] A local level focus enables the identification of systemic weaknesses and therefore contributes to the fulfillment of basic needs but also concurrently provides the information necessary to execute the conflict transformational process. Finally, it

enables an identification of what should and should not be done when developing the new, legitimate, domestic order necessary for sustainable results.

The local environment must be assessed along three matrices: the political context, economic context, and social context.[51] An assessment of the local political and social mechanism within the cultural context of the society enables the identification of both the local level power sharing mechanisms and the identification of local individuals who should either be excluded or included in the new political order, e.g., Actor Transformation. The failure to accurately identify the mechanism for allocating power at the local level often subverts the process of transitioning to civil authority from the beginning.[52] Similarly, the manifestation, and therefore importance of existing national institutions such as the military at the local level must be assessed as well to identify which institutions, and personnel within those institutions, should either be retained or replaced. In this way, transformational efforts, particularly within the context of Actor, Structural and Issue Transformation LOOs are informed by bottom-up assessments. The de-Ba'athification decision in Iraq by the Coalition Provisional Authority is reflective of a top-down approach that did not effectively assess the political and social context. This decision crippled the Iraqi bureaucracy and contributed to an inability by the Coalition and fledgling Iraqi institutions to fulfill basic needs.

Within an economic perspective, assessing the micro-economic environment will provide the necessary information to ensure that the local market economy continues to function. In that way, two key questions that must be answered emerge: how are wages paid and how does the market economy function at the local level?[53] The answer to both of these questions provides the framework to synchronize local level projects with partner agencies to enhance compatibility with the existing cultural patterns of the society. The new domestic order, therefore, builds on

rather than replaces existing economic practices at the local level and avoids creating

dependency on external assistance which undermines the effective functioning of local

systems.[54]

From a practical perspective, a local level orientation and a focus on fulfilling basic needs

means that the operational planner must design a campaign that empowers lower level tactical

commanders at the outset of the campaign in two specific ways. First, the establishment of

Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) which have proven so successful in both Iraq and

Afghanistan must not be an ad-hoc operational addition but should be planned for from the

beginning of the campaign.[55] Integrating PRTs at the outset will result in more effective

operational employment by enabling the PRT to develop internal cohesion, to study their

operational environment and to develop a rapport with the tactical commander in whose battle

space they will be operating. Additionally, the requirement for PRTs will necessitate, as a matter

of practical application, the inclusion of interagency partners at the outset of planning.

Second, the operational planner must establish a Commanders Emergency Response

Program (CERP) for the area in which operations will be conducted. Again, capitalizing on a

successful model that evolved in an ad-hoc manner in Afghanistan and Iraq within the process of

campaign design will provide the tools necessary to maximize the transformational power of the

tactical commander.[56] The bottom line is that money equals leverage and financial assets

provide the tactical commander with the practical tools to enable transformation within the

framework of Contextual, Issue, and Structural LOOs. The CERP, however, which has proven

so successful in Iraq and Afghanistan, remains a theater specific program. The Department of

Defense Financial Management Regulation specifically states that, "The CERP is designed to

enable local commanders *in Iraq and Afghanistan* to respond to urgent humanitarian relief and

reconstruction requirements within their areas of responsibility."[57] (Emphasis added) Until the program becomes part of organic authorizing legislation by permanent codification within Title 10 by Congress, the assumption that the program will be available at the outset of a campaign will be invalid.[58] The operational planner must make every effort to ensure that CERP, or something very similar, is an available tool in the tactical commanders toolbox.[59]

CONCLUSION

A comprehensive approach to campaign planning incorporating the concept of Conflict Transformation as an element of operational design provides the necessary cohesive planning link between the EMCO and SSTR. It further necessitates comprehensive backward planning, forces interagency integration, and enhances the overall legitimacy of a military operation far more effectively than the simple consideration of conflict termination. While much intellectual energy has been devoted to the study of conflict termination in recent years, the context of 21st warfare simply requires conceptual thinking that reflects the operational realities of a world filled with violent extremists rather than one in which superpowers face each other on a daily basis. Ongoing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan reflect transformational efforts currently underway and the likelihood of similar future conflict remains probable. The framework provided by conflict transformation more readily adapts these operational realities to current and evolving doctrine and to the principles of operational art in general. Fundamentally, because "hearts and minds" play such a pivotal role within the context of strategic and operational objectives, existing planning imperatives must reflect the contemporary environment. It is the concept of conflict transformation that most effectively captures the complex operational requirements confronting planners each and every day.

Appendix A

Conflict Transformation Continuum

EMCO ⟶ TCO ⟶ TSLEO ⟶ ECA

COIN

SSTR
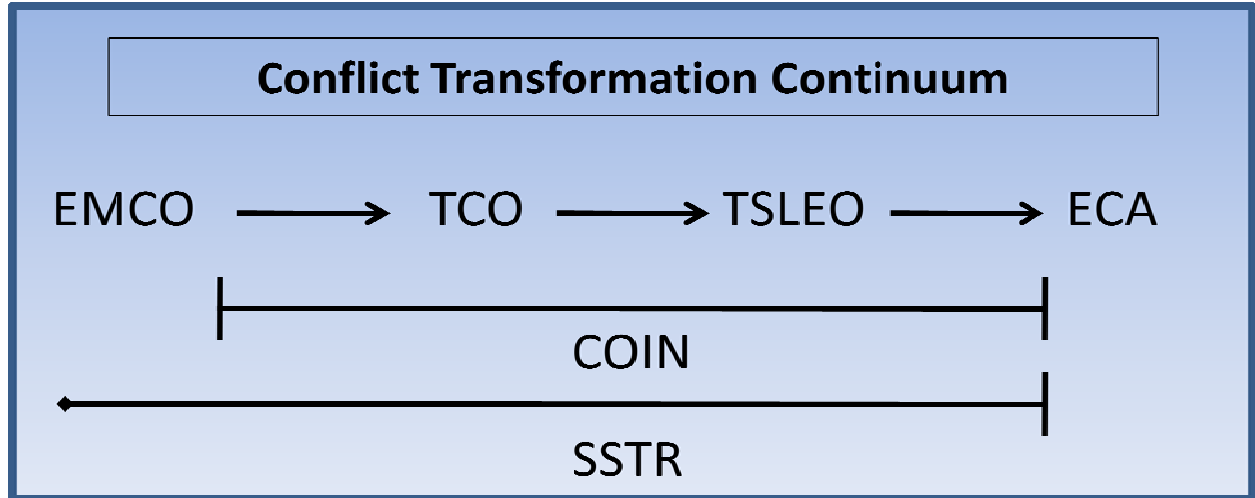
Figure 1

This diagram depicts the Conflict Transformation Continuum from the EMCO to the point where operations have progressed sufficiently to Enable Civil Authorities (ECA). The inclusion of COIN operations reflects where COIN would occur within the Continuum but does mean to imply that it is necessarily required. Depending on the context of a given conflict, COIN operations may not, in fact, be a requirement. The inclusion of SSTR operations depicts the reality, as is proscribed in doctrine, that they would be occurring throughout all phases of the operation but it is only after the EMCO that SSTR operations would become the main effort.

Appendix A

This diagram depicts the Conflict Transformation Process in a holistic graphic manner and displays the connection to the SSTR MMEs. As shown, planning would synthesize the Transformation Lines of Operation in order to provide a substantive framework upon which the SSTR MME's can be built. This process occurs within the context of all Basic Needs being fulfilled to enable and enhance transformative change. The entire effort is encapsulated within an informed Strategic Communication plan to capitalize on success and maximize effectiveness.

End Notes

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